

619 unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship
 621 between the bones composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the bones of oldest standing
 has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant bones have entered or been
 formed by the enlargement of veins descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds
 both related and unrelated bones. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in
 many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemesth* (plural *thakhemasin*),
 or "fifth,"¹ so called because each *thakhemesth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty
 after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain
 five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood,
 although many bones in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and
 hence in war.

619 Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabitich*, a word derived from the Arabic *jabila*.²
 In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term
thakabitich being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are
 Galiya, Tamsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gsennaya. Those of Galiya are Masusa, Ait
 Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith
 Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gsennaya
 are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imedurar, and Asht Aru u Aisma. In naming
 these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or
 Arab as the case may be. In Tamsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and
 Hathih n Tamsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two bones
 each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi
 Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Ohannen, and Amsauru and Tizi Asxa. They are given this
 special standing because Tamsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single
fifth, and because these bones are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

565 The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes be-
 563 tween which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old
 582 Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or
 463 less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take
 wives from other bones. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immi-
 grant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gsennaya, Beni Amart,
 Beni Urriaghel, and Tamsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social
 debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular
 565 *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"³ who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing,
 563 piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All
 463 these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

¹ The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arba*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

² Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

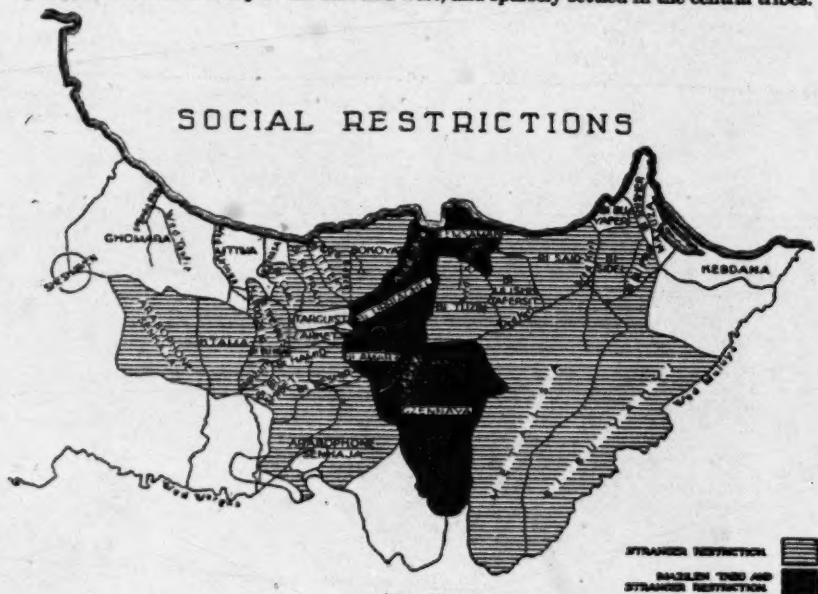
³ The chief quality of this class, which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

93

565 is as a rule extremely modest, and considers it degrading to expose himself to the public eye
 563 in any but a governmental way, it is only natural that he should look down upon a social
 463 class which practices trades that he himself would be ashamed to undertake, despite the
 fact that these trades might require greater intelligence and skill than his own manner of
 living.

Blacksmiths are traditionally an invading, or one should perhaps rather say infiltrating, group, concentrated today in the east and west, and sparsely settled in the central tribes.



The chief centers of blacksmith families are Asgangen in Beni Bu Ifrur, Imasinen in Masruza, Mauru in Beni Said, Anual in Beni Uliashk, Tafersit town, Tisera n Jkhatha and Bu Hfara of Beni Tuxin, Khebaba, on the eastern edge of Gzennaya, Tarosht in Iherrushen of Gzennaya, Beni Msita and Ijaonen of Beni Amart, el Malimin of Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Snada of Beni Bu Frah, Garmaeth of Zarket, Tamadith of Beni Bu Naar, Beni Berber, Aghbel of Beni Bu Shibet, and Tezarin, on the border between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir.

Only four centers were attributed to the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart (two to each), and none to Beni Urriaghel. The smiths of Khebaba, makers of the famous Khebaba knives, and of Tarosht have been in the country so long that no one remembers whence they came. They are thought to antedate entirely the smiths who live in the regions to the east and west of them. The smiths of Beni Msita and Ijaonen, belonging to one family

565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *thamazighit* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalea and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fez from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and aboe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

565 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the rein, or of the schoolmaster of the bone, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 Pipers,¹ or *imthiyasen* (singular *amthiyas*), play upon the *sammar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the *soudad*. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfara and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Uliakh, Tafersit, Nador, Asgangan, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

565 They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
463 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings² their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers³ and Weighers, *iberraken* (singular *aberrak*) and *isahgairen* (singular *ashegairen*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

¹ So translated here because of their profession.

² See below, p. 138 seq.

³ The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

95

565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties. 463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

554 Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracize his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gzennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urringhel, into northern Gzennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognize the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114]
[241] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

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[226] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

• [565]
[463] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiazzen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178]
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[286] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and round-about way) what goes on at women's markets!

[114]

000
[114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

• [565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533]
[534] 111--The imdhiazan, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

[648] (113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated (178) and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of (621) the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with (595) multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The (369) urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the (593) man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

584 The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society (571) was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situation each family sought security through a system of alliances (602) based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is (178) guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy (571) overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or descendants of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

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565 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a
 582 solid social class in the Rif because of the large and econo-
 792 mically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees
 of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists
 [556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means.
 Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked pro-
 556 pensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a
 565 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do
 582 their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very
 loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its
 own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry
 a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers.
 They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence
 in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people,
 the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to
 others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is
 relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle
 whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry
 because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest
 rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister,
 mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's
 mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or
 any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted
 with anyone inside or outside the dchar.¹ Within any one dharfiqth

[114] ¹ Murdock's information (1959:117) that Rifians do not marry their
 father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

582 Within any one dharfiqth
 [613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
 582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
 619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuquuyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzimnayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
 602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
 611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal principle. Although rights in property and children almost always
 611 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society
 602 is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
 114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.
 (829)

427 the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside
464 the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms
562 with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there
[602] is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative,
especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the
wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives
by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship
between wife and akhammas.

427 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to
464 establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over
466 women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient
465 class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situa-
565 tion, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that
the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor with-
out any guarantees of remuneration. While he is free to negotiate
his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends
directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The
master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an incon-
venience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other
hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of
his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his
household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of
this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes
aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards
in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

429 laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria,
464 where salaries are high by Riffian standards.
465

466 On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who
565 regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association.

They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they (123) engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

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Although the akhanas association is the most prevalent, it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional work association is the amikhari, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He "... is hired for a fixed period ... [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75).

[233]

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Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It is an association between the elite and the poor which is based on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

[571]
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A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tanasight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.

445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

445 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes
565 but find their occupation more remunerative.
423

443 In addition to these small merchants there is an assort-
445 ment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special
goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his
Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the
itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the
bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician.

(159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occa-
sionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs,
stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the
whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside
the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too
extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides
the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather periph-
eral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers,
443 the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital
472 so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation,
who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart
from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two
different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in
both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well
turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to
the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

443 province of Mader, where barley is relatively cheap, in order
442 to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local
438 needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground
seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken
back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed
form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and
(565) weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries
out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants
themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins
from their criers and listening to the competition.

442 In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the
439 large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in
all particulars except their immediate function in the market.
Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots
of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban
centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the
almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market
abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which trans-
form them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also
(245) merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry,
(262) and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used
locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of
raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography

611⁶ Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.⁶

565 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most-respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.
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 443 One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

195 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes⁷ and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.⁸ Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lakkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[13] * In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmanians were led by a queen or prophetess. E. F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hagan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439-443.

[113] * *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khasana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913-1938).

[113] * Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380-381.